

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE.

THE

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST

No. 389

Official Organ of the Australasian
Socialist Party.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1917.

Registered at the General Post Office, Sydney,
for transmission by post as a Newspaper.

Price: One Penny

The Axe to the Root.

By the Late James Connolly.

POLITICAL ACTION OF LABOR.

"The great strike of the shop employees on the Canadian Pacific Railway has been declared off—lost. While the shopmen were fighting desperately to maintain their organisation and decent working conditions, the engineers, firemen, conductors, trainmen, etc., worked with scabs imported from the States and from Europe, and thus, by keeping trains moving, aided to break the strike. It is only one more illustration of what a vicious, not to say downright criminal, scheme craft autonomy actually is in practice.

"Here's another example. After four years of hard fighting from the Mississippi River to the Pacific coast, and from the Ohio River to the Gulf, the machinists have been compelled to abandon their strikes on the Santa Fe and the L. and N. railways. The engines and cars built and repaired in the railway shops by strike-breakers were hauled over the roads by members of the old brotherhoods without the slightest objections. No wonder that onlookers become disgusted with such 'unionism.' Some union cards cover a multitude of sins."—MAX HAYES, in "International Socialist Review."

Industrial Disunity.

At meetings throughout this country one frequently hears speakers laboring to arouse the workers to their duty, exclaiming:

"You unite industrially; why, then, do you divide politically? You unite against the bosses in strikes and lockouts, and then you foolishly divide when you go to the ballot-box. Why not unite at the ballot-box as you unite in the workshop? Why not show the same unity on the political field as you do on the industrial battlefield?"

At first blush this looks to be an exceedingly apt and forcible form of appeal to our fellow-workers, but when examined more attentively it will be seen that, in view of the facts of our industrial warfare, this appeal is based upon a flagrant misstatement of facts. The real truth is that the workers do not unite industrially, but, on the contrary, are most hopelessly divided on the industrial field, and that their division and confusion on the political field are the direct result of their division and confusion on the industrial field. It would be easy to prove that even our most loyal trade unionists habitually play the game of the capitalist class on the industrial field, just as surely as the Republican and Democratic workers do it on the political field. Let us examine the situation on the industrial field, and see if it justifies the claim that, economically, the workers are united, or if it justifies the contention I make that the division of the workers on the political field is but the reflex of the confused ideas derived from the practice of the workers in strikes and lockouts.

The Scab as Scapegoat.

Quite recently we had a great strike of the workers employed on the Subway and Elevated systems of street car service in New York. The men showed a splendid front against the power of the mammoth capitalist company headed by August Belmont, against which they were arrayed. Conductors, motormen, ticket-choppers, platform men, repairers, permanent way men, ticket-sellers—all went out together, and for a time paralysed the entire traffic on their respective system. The company, on the other hand, had the usual recourse to Jim Farley and his scabs, and sought to man the trains with those professional traitors to their class.

The number of scabs was large, but small in proportion to the men on strike, yet the strike was broken. It was not the scabs, however, who turned the scale against the strikers in favour of the company. That service to capital was performed by good union men, with union cards in their pockets. These men were the engineers in the power-houses which supplied the electric power to run the cars, and without whom all the scabs combined could not have run a single trip. A scab is a vile creature, but what shall we say of the men who helped to scab to commit this act of treason? The law says that an accessory before the fact is equally guilty of a crime with the actual criminal. What, then, are the trade unionists who supplied the power to scabs to help them break a strike? They were unconsciously being compelled, by their false system of organisation, to betray their struggling brothers. Was this unity on the industrial field? And is it any wonder that the men accustomed to so scab upon their fellow-workers in a labor struggle should also scab it upon their class in a political struggle? Is it not, rather, common sense to expect that the recognition of the necessity for concerted common action of all workers against the capitalist enemy on the industrial battlefield must precede the realisation of the wisdom of common action as a class on the political battlefield? The men who are taught that it is all right to continue working for a capitalist against whom their shopmates of a different craft are on strike are not likely to see any harm in continuing to vote for a capitalist nominee at the polls, even when he is opposed by the candidate of a Labor organisation. Political scabbery is born of industrial scabbery: it is its legitimate offspring.

Unionist Scabbery.

Instances of this industrial disunity could be cited indefinitely. The Longshoremen of the Port of New York went out on strike. They at first succeeded in tying up the ships of the Shipping Trust, great as its wealth is, and in demonstrating the real power of labor when unhampered by contracts with capital. The Shipping Trust was taken by surprise, but quickly recovered, and, as usual, imported scabs from all over the country. Then was seen what the unity of the working-class on the industrial field amounts to under present conditions. As scab longshoremen unloaded the ship, union teamsters, with union buttons in their hats, received the goods from their hands, loaded them into their waggons, and drove merrily away.

As scab longshoremen loaded a ship, union men coaled it, and when the cargo was safely on board union marine engineers set up steam, and union seamen and firemen took it out of the dock on its voyage to its destination. Can men who are trained and taught to believe that such a course of conduct is right and proper be expected to realise the oneness of the interests of the working class as a whole against the capitalist class as a whole, and vote and act accordingly? In short, can their field of vision be so extensive that it can see the brotherhood of all men, and yet so restricted that it can see no harm in a brother labor organisation in their own industry being beaten to death by capital?

How to Fight.

Contrast this woeful picture of divided and disorganised "unionism" in America with the following account from the New York "Sun" of the manner in which the Socialist unionists of Scandinavia stand together in a fight against the common

enemy, irrespective of "craft interests" or "craft contracts":—

"A short sojourn in Scandinavia, particularly in Copenhagen and the southern part of Sweden, gives one an object lesson in Socialism. In some way or other, the Socialists have managed to capture all the trade unions in these parts, and between them have caused a reign of terror for everybody who is unfortunate enough to own a business of any sort. Heaven help him if he fires one of his helps or tries to assert himself in any way. He is immediately declared in 'blockade.'"

"This Socialist term means practically the same as a boycott. If the offending business man happens to be a retail merchant, all workmen are warned off his premises. The drivers for the wholesale houses refuse to deliver goods at his store; the truckmen refuse to cart anything to or from his place, and so on; in fact, he is a doomed man unless he comes to terms with the union. It is worth mentioning that boycotting bulletins, and also the names and addresses of those who are bold enough to help the man out, are published in leaded type in all the Socialistic newspapers. A law to prevent the publication of such boycotting announcements was proposed in the Swedish Riksdag this year, but was defeated.

"If the boycotted person be a whole sale dealer, the proceedings are much the same, or rather they are reversed. The retailers are threatened with the loss of the workmen's trade unless they cease dealing with such a firm. The truckmen refuse to haul for it. It has even happened that the scavengers have refused to remove the refuse from the premises. More often, however, the cans are 'accidentally' dropped on the stairs. These scavengers belong to the cities' own forces, as rule, and receive pensions after a certain length of service, but they have all sworn allegiance to the Socialistic cause.

"In reading the foregoing it is well to remember that practically all the working men of such cities—that is, practically all Sweden and Denmark—are union men—i.e., Socialists, and are, therefore, able to carry out their threats."

How Not to Fight.

Here we have a practical illustration of the power of Socialism when it rests upon an economic organisation, and the effectiveness and far-reaching activity of unionism when it is inspired by the Socialist ideal. Now, as an equally valuable object lesson in American unionism, an object lesson in how not to do it, let us picture a typical state of affairs in the machine industry. The moulders' contract with the boss expires, and they go out on strike. In a machine shop the moulder occupies a position intermediate between the pattern-maker and the machinist, or, as they are called in Ireland, the engineers. When the moulders go out, the boss, who has had all his plans laid for months beforehand, brings in a staff of scabs and installs them in the places of the striking workers. Then the tragedy begins. The union pattern-maker makes his patterns and hands them over to the scab moulder; the scab moulder casts his moulds, and when they are done the union machinist takes them from him and placidly finishes the job. Then, having finished their day's work, they go to their union meetings and vote donations of a few hundred dollars to help the strikers to defeat the boss, after they had worked all day to help the boss to defeat the strikers. Thus they exemplify the solidarity of labor. When the

moulders are beaten, the machinists and the pattern-makers, and the blacksmiths, and the electricians, and the engineers, and all the rest take their turn of going up against the boss in separate bodies to be licked. As each is taking its medicine, its fellows of other crafts in the same shop sympathise with it in the name of solidarity of labor, and continue to work in the service of the capitalist, against whom the strike is directed, in the name of the sacred contract of the craft union.

When the coal miners of Pennsylvania had their famous strike in 1902, the railroad brotherhoods handed in scabs to take their places, and when the scabs had mined coal the same railroad men hauled out this scab-mined coal.

Division on Both Fields.

Need I go on to prove the point that industrial division and disunity is the order of the day among the workers, and that this division and confusion on the economic field cannot but perpetuate itself upon the political field? These orators who reproach the workers with being divided on the political field, although united on the industrial, are simply misstating facts. The workers are divided on both, and as political parties are the reflex of economic conditions, it follows that industrial unionism, once established, will create the political unity of the working class. I feel that we cannot too strongly insist upon this point. Political division is born of industrial division; political scabbery is born of industrial craft scabbery; political weakness keeps even step with industrial weakness. It is an axiom enforced by all the experience of the ages that they who rule industrially will rule politically, and, therefore, they who are divided industrially will remain impotent politically. The failure of Mr. Gompers to unite politically the forces of the American Federation of Labor was the inevitable outcome of his own policy of division on the industrial battlefield; he reversed the natural process by trying to unite men on craft lines, while he opposed every effort, as in the case of the Brewers, to unite them on industrial lines. The natural lines of thought and action lead from the direct to the indirect, from the simple to the complex, from the immediate to the ultimate. Mr. Gompers ignored this natural line of development, and preached the separation into craft organisations, with separate craft interests, of the workers, and then expected them to heed his call to unity on the less direct and immediate battleground of politics. He failed, as even the Socialists would fail if they remained equally blind to the natural law of our evolution into class consciousness. That natural law leads us, as individuals, to unite in our craft, as crafts to unite in our industry, as industries in our class, and the finished expression of that evolution is, we believe, the appearance of our class upon the political battlefield with all the economic power behind it to enforce its mandates. Until that day dawns our political parties of the working class are but propagandist agencies, John the Baptists of the New Redemption, but when that day dawns our political party will be armed with all the might of our class, will be revolutionary in fact as well as in thought.

(Continued in Next Issue.)

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST.

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AUSTRALASIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Australia, 4/- per year; 1/- per quarter. Postage added to other countries.

ORDERS FOR PAPERS to be sent to the Press Committee, 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney.

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Incredible Insolence.

By A. S. R.

"Put in the boot!" I sez. "Put in the boot."
—"The Sentimental Bloke."

From the "Daily Telegraph," of 25th Sept., we cull the following remarks by Mr. Justice Heydon, which he delivered in the course of his decision on the application by the Minister for Labor and Industry, for the cancellation of the registration of the Sydney Coal Lumpers' Union for participation in the recent strike:—

"And these men who have carried their mania so far as to dare to declare the Australians in the trenches black (for that is what their refusal to work for them means, have the incredible insolence to call the loyalists who have taken their places 'scabs.' If they are themselves a fair sample of unionists (which God forbid), and if the men who took up their work are a fair sample of scabs, then is 'unionist' a term of the foulest disgrace, and 'scab' shines out as a title of lofty honor. Between such unionists and such scabs let me be a scab a million times over. The great union of Australia (may Heaven protect her from domestic fools and imported traitors) is that to which these so-called 'scabs' have proclaimed their loyalty, and not one of us can do better than range up beside them. There stands the true unionist, and such callous treachery, such scabbing on the men at the front, as has been shown in this case is as much lower than ordinary scabbing as Australia stands higher than an ordinary trades union. In face of a case like this, is it not time for the many thousands of honest Australian unionists to pause, and consider where they are going? If it is indeed an essential principle of unionism that you must scab for your union, that you must be false to your country for your union, that you must trample under foot honor and good faith for your union, then has unionism become an ugly idol, which, instead of being protected, deserves only to be torn down and destroyed. As a system of defence of the interests of the workers, unionism deserves all honor and assistance; as a system of faithless disloyalty, it must inevitably, so soon as its character is really recognised, be swept away by the indignation of the community. I direct the cancellation of the registration of this union."

Time was when Justice was represented as a female figure, with bandaged eyes, holding the scales in equipoise, and trying therein the actions of men. These, however, are the days of Capitalism in Excelsis. Justice has long been deposed from her pedestal. To-day she is in the grip of the white-slave trafficker. Robbed of her chastity in the interest of High Finance, she has now become a prostitute on whose debasement the bludgers of the Stock Exchange and the Chambers of Commerce grow fat.

"The great union of Australia," says he, "is that to which these so-called 'scabs' have proclaimed their loyalty, and not one of us can do better than line up beside them."

Life is possible in Australia to-day, only because a section of those who live in it, produce from its soil, food, clothing and shelter. They alone are useful! They alone are necessary. They are Australia.

Upon the backs of the dogs are many fleas, but they are not the dog. They are not even

The Ownership of Industry.

And One Big Union.

By C. F. C.

At the Sydney Labor Council recently the late strike and its lessons were the theme for discussion, and Mr. A. C. Willis, of the Coal and Shale Employees' Federation, remarked, among other things, that "if unionists were to win out, it would be by a proper system of organisation, and by using their brains and not their passions." This nicely states the obvious.

Continuing, Mr. Willis suggests in the first place the formation of the "one big union." "Why," he asks, "could not the Australian Workers' Union own its own stations and the coal miners their own mines?"

Whereupon the "Evening News" in a leading article remarks, "Why not, in deed. It is quite open to the A.W.U. to save up its money and buy stations, or for the coal miners to lay up for themselves treasures in mines. . . . If the unions would put up money, and the management could be guaranteed, the ogre 'Capitalism' would even lend them money to build up the enterprise. For the ogre 'Capitalism' is a very tolerant old ogre, and will lend money to anybody provided the security is adequate. Let the 'new unionism' save up its dollars and buy shares in the existing industries. By choosing its investments wisely and steadily reinvesting the dividends it would in time become the owner of great sections of what it calls 'Capitalism.'"

Before looking into the "Evening News'" comment, let us first "use our brains on Mr. Willis' scheme—the move already under way—the formation of the One Big Union.

Without doubt this new organisation

necessary to the dog's existence. They are in fact a burden and a most pestilent nuisance.

So with the workers of Australia.

Upon their backs are many parasites. Big, bloated, useless loafers. Producers of nothing, who are neither workers, or necessary to the workers. And because the coal lumpers dared to protest when these parasites were boring further and further into their skins, one of their representatives, to wit, Mr. Justice Heydon, needs must, with shameful audacity, nay more, with "incredible insolence," rise up and with horror in his tones, abuse the workers with violent epithets."

For those who, forgetful of their class, blind even to their own best interest, crawled to the assistance and succour of the parasites, he has nothing but adulation and praise. They are persons of "lofty honor," beside whom "unionists" are persons of "foulest disgrace."

Herein lies a lesson for those workers who still believe in arbitration, per medium of a "fair-minded" Judge. Men's ideas are determined by their economic interests, and when Judges are drawn from the ranks of the parasites, nothing is more natural than that they should lean towards that class in their utterances and judgments, as witness Justice Heydon's tirade. A Judge without bias is an impossibility, and even if he were not, between the workers who produce all wealth, and the loafers who produce nothing, there is nothing to arbitrate about.

We were not in the court when the judgment was given, but surely this class-biased Judge (?) must have "done his block" when he suggested that to be loyal to one's union it was necessary to be false to your country, and trample down under foot honor and good faith.

Of country we have none; we don't even own our jobs. We have honor for, and faith only in the workers, and to stand true to unionism is to stand true to honor and good faith in our class.

For the class that Judge Heydon represents, the worker, who is loyal to his class, has no time, faith, nor honor, but ever organising for the overthrow of capitalism and the subsequent ownership of industry by the workers, looks eagerly forward to the time when, through using a long-handled shovel, or a number six pick, Justice Heydon and his kind will be so busy drawing their breath as to have none to spare for the "incredible insolence" of insulting the only useful class in Australia.

will be a leviathan—in numbers. And the process of bringing it into existence is simple—so dead simple! All that is necessary to usher it in, is the passing of a few resolutions and giving a universal transfer! Then you see, instead of having 700 odd "craft" unions you have the One Big Union! That in brief is the Trades Hall idea of the One Big Union which is to be with us to-morrow. You see it is so easy—so dead easy.

And the working class position as a result of this? The workers are exactly in the same position as before, because the One Big Union simply stands for the same things, and has the same strength as the "craft" union on which it is founded. The "craft" unions to-day briefly stand for—

1. "Defence not Defiance."
2. A fair day's work for a fair day's pay
3. Arbitration in the settlement of disputes, this recognises the "rights" of the capitalist class to the ownership of the industries operated by the working class alone.
4. Better working conditions, e.g., slight wage advances, shorter hours, etc.
5. Identity of interest between employer and employee clearly expressed at the ballot box in support of Protection, Boy Conscription, "legislation for ALL classes," etc., etc.

The new leviathan simply stands for an "amalgamation" or "federation" of such "craft" unions granting each full autonomy. It thus is a **unity founded on economic ignorance**, and is coming into existence for the same things as the craft union to-day exists to obtain. It is merely a **defensive not an offensive weapon**. By no stretch of imagination can the One Big Union even be called "Industrial Unionism"—in which all the workers in the one industry would be in the one union. The One Big Union will certainly be a leviathan numerically. And because of its "craft" union base it will have the industrial strength of a whale—in foot deep water.

Industrial Unions even, would be of little use to the working class if their ideas were similar to those now underlying craft union activity. They would be more useful in the defensive sense, but they never would, and never could, threaten the existence of the Capitalist System.

Socialists are out not merely for shorter hours, higher wages and better working conditions—which in themselves solve no social problem. We want to own and control absolutely the industries and **SOCIALLY-necessary wealth**.

The force necessary to do this is the organisation of **CLASS CONSCIOUS** workers into **not merely Industrial Unions** but into unions which are out **primarily for a complete change in wealth-ownership**—unions thus called **REVOLUTIONARY Industrial Unions**. Such an organisation is the **Workers' International Industrial Union** which knits **ALL** the workers organised **INDUSTRIALLY** into a disciplined **ONE GREAT UNION**. To bring such an organisation into existence is needed a shade more propaganda than a few perfunctory speeches, the passing of resolutions and the granting of a universal transfer!

As for the "A.W.U. owning its own stations and the coal miners their own mines," THAT would simply perpetuate the competition enjoyed (or bemoaned) by us to-day.

The Workers' International Industrial Union does NOT propose to vest the ownership of any industry in any ONE industrial union. The ownership of all **SOCIALLY-necessary wealth is vested in and will be controlled by the Great Union** as a whole. The particular industries will be operated by the particular industrial organisation representing that industry, but the Industrial Parliament—consisting of experts elected from each Industrial union—will co-ordinate the working of these component Industrial Unions. The functions of this Board of Management or Industrial Parliament

Philanthropists.

By J.M.G.

The dictionary meaning of a philanthropist is "one who tries to benefit mankind" by good deeds and service to others. Taking the meaning in its literal sense the workers are the greatest philanthropists. The activities of other charitable organisations and philanthropic societies are mere bagatelles compared to the amount of aid and extent of the operation of the workers' philanthropy. In fact these charitable societies and organisations, existing to give fat billets to secretaries and organisers, and incidentally to hide the chronic poverty of the dwellers in slumdom, could not exist if it were not for the philanthropic gifts of the workers to the individuals who subscribe to the various funds. The workers are (admittedly unconscious) so imbued with the spirit of charity that they allow the capitalist class to have four-fifths of the amount of the product of their labor. By doing so they enable these individuals to have all the good things of this life contenting themselves with a mere subsistence. Some even think that the hell they have in the world, will be compensated by an inflated reward in mansion in the skies.

The self-denial of the workers is beyond all question. Their good deeds cannot be denied, and their whole life-practice from the cradle to the grave is one long servitude to supply others with everything to make life worth living whilst they deny themselves of everything but the bare necessities of life and in many instances deny themselves even that.

We have heard of the "stately home of England," those mansions that beauty of architecture and construction are unrivalled in any part of the civilised world. We have all read a description of and many have seen the beautiful decorations and artistic fittings of these mansions with elaborate furniture, upholstered with the most costly fabrics, beautiful to look upon, for the use and enjoyment

will be to supervise Production and Distribution as a whole.

A word now for the "Evening News" comment, anent "saving up" or buying out with the borrowings from the capitalist class, "the ogre that would even lend them money to build up the enterprise, provided the security is good." We do not doubt that the capitalist class would do this—would do it with glee. It does this to-day with the Political State, which with its borrowed millions, owns (nominally) the State Enterprise concerned though in reality these are run for the capitalist class, whose dividends in the shape of loan interest are guaranteed.

No, Sir Editor! We do NOT propose to BUY OUT anything. We intend to follow Russia's line of action.

According to the London "Daily Express" of July 28, the estates of the Czar, valued at £140,000,000, were seized by the new Government. We read further: "Expropriation of all the 'appanage' lands from which the grand dukes and duchesses enjoyed life incomes was demanded by the Council of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. The lands are estimated to be worth £280,000,000."

We are organising for the purpose of getting possession, and we base our activity on the fact that the working class produces all wealth to-day, and has produced all wealth in the past. All the industries which the workers alone operate to-day, represent crystallised surplus-value created by workers of this and past generations. We mean to get possession of these and the **SOCIALLY-necessary wealth lawfully**—through our representatives in Parliament—on the day that sounds the death-knell of the present Political State. **Payment of one penny would vitiate and nullify the whole working class claim.** The capitalist sheets may call that claim "Robbery" or "Confiscation" just as we call it "Restitution" or "Expropriation." The name matters not.

Our position is above board. We are organising on the political field to end the Political State and to get ownership of the **SOCIALLY-necessary wealth** vested in the Revolutionary Industrial Unions—marshalled in **ONE GREAT UNION**—so that that union can take, hold and operate the machinery of production and distribution for the benefit of society's only necessary class.

THE SLAVE.

I am one of millions of slaves, and my life
is sordid and vain,
I toiled from the days of boyhood, and wed
are my years to pain;
I am bound to the wheels of a system whose
gods are begotten of Gain.

I know not the soul that is in me, methinks
it is dying or dead,
My strength is spent in the labor and struggle
unending for bread:
Oh God! that the soul of a human be slain
that his body be fed.

I know not the earth, and its beauties, the
glory of sun or of sea,
I know not the freshness of springtime, what
wonders on earth there may be.
The beautiful face of the morning has never
been painted for me.

I live not the days that are passing, I know
but their fever and fret,
The fear of, and struggle with hunger, and
these I would gladly forget;
Oh, long are the hours of my bondage, from
rising of sun unto set.

I am of millions of slaves whose souls are
dying or dead,
Who sell the strength of their manhood to
Mammon for bitter bread:
Ah God! that the souls of the millions be slain
that their bodies be fed.

—GUS ANDERSON.

of a section of the community that toil
not nor spin, but who accept all these
gifts from workers who are content to
abstain from using the work of their own
hands the creation of their own brains,
and are willing to live in hovels more or
less filthy without any of the conven-
iences that are essential to the life and
happiness of the individual. The work-
ers abstain from wearing decent clothing;
are content to wear shoddy, so that the
master class and their female hangers-on
may have the finest and most elaborate
materials to decorate themselves with.

They load the tables of these people
with the most costly and finest produce
of the land and supply them with the
rarest beverages and choicest vintages,
contenting themselves with the humblest
and coarsest fare.

They have built motor cars to enable
these idlers to go enjoying themselves
without the fatigue of walking. The
workers are content to get about on
shanks' mare.

They have built railway carriages
"models de lux" of elegance and luxur-
ious comfort to enable other people to
move from one part of the country to
another with the greatest ease, reducing
the fatigue of travelling to a minimum,
while they are content to use vehicles
that are no better than horse boxes; or
they may steal a ride in a goods train.

Palatial steamships have been built to
take these parasites to all parts of the
globe, sight-seeing, whilst the workers are
compelled to travel like penned cattle.

These people are able, by the philan-
thropy of the workers, to send their chil-
dren to colleges and universities, built by
the workers and endowed by the surplus
value of their labour. The children of
the workers being compelled, owing to
the generosity of their parents, to accept
an education that is not an education in
any sense of the word.

This philanthropy of the workers has
reached the limit. There is a growing
consciousness amongst them of the injus-
tice of the present system. They are be-
ginning to realise that the mental kinks
inherited from the past have misled them
and made them too generous in handing
over to an idle parasite class four-fifths
of the product of their labour. They are
beginning to see the grinning deaths
head, the hideousness of our present
phase of society, covered over with all
the drapery and showy splendour of the
ruling class, to captivate the emotional
imagination of the unthinking. They are
awakening to the hollowness of a form of
society that enslaves the many in the in-
terests of a few. They are becoming con-
scious that they in the mass are denied all
participation in those essentials that go
to mark the difference between human life
and the beasts. They have been denied the
right of education, have been compelled
to live in slums without any chance of
cultivating or knowing anything of that
superior culture that the Allies contend
they are fighting for against the inferior
culture of the Central Power.

This growing consciousness on the
part of the workers is receiving a for-
ward impetus since the war began. It
has straightened out many of the mental
kinks of the workers and compelled them
to ask questions as to the righteousness of
a system that compels them to give their
all in the prosecution of the war whilst
the capitalist class are piling up huge for-
tunes. The environment created by the

The opinions expressed by the capital-
ist press pure and simple as shown forth
in the "Herald" and "Telegraph," or by
those insidious organs of capitalism,
typified by the "Bulletin," who pretend
to be impartial in order that they may
more adequately fulfil their mission as
decoy ducks and misleaders of Labor, are
peculiar in their naive (or knave) sim-
plicity. One of the last mentioned variety
thinks the strike silly because it does not
affect wages and hours.

Is he really so superficial as not to see
that speeding up under existing condi-
tions is equivalent to a reduction of wages
or an increase of hours when results are
compared? Where wages were increased
under the Taylor system 25 per cent, out-
put had increased 75 per cent. Further-
more, speeding up shortens the actual
working life of the working man, he ex-
hausts his energy in fewer years precisely
as does a machine if kept going at a high
rate of speed.

We all know how the murderous and
hypocritical Carnegie pitted foreman
against foreman, and gang against gang,
so that the foreman who produced the
most was the standard to which every
other foreman must conform or be dis-
missed. This was probably the "triumph-
ant democracy" of that pseudo-philan-
thropist. Triumphant capitalism would
be more correct.

It seems as if the Taylor system was
the sole fruit of those industrial commis-
sioners which visited America some time
ago to bring back new ideas. Even for
reformists they were not very resource-
ful in ideas. Could they not if only to
vary the monotony of their biased sug-
gestions point out the unparalleled land
monopoly existing in Australia, or the
backward methods of production which
the "Bulletin" and other alleged politi-
cal savants are to continue and fortify by
a still higher tariff? Of course this would
never do. The squatter and cockroach
capitalist would be highly offended if
told the truth that they were obsolete in
their methods of production, and that
their monopoly was exceedingly harmful.

Every judicious editor must take care
that his sentiments do not reflect adverse-
ly on the supply of advertisements; if
they do he may find himself in the posi-
tion of many a better man carrying his
swag or "the curse of God," as it is
called; a pilgrim in search of toil, and
Mark Twain called Australia "a land of
pilgrims." Fortunately the workingman
does not advertise, so he is fair sport to
the Philistines of the press and the Peck-
sniffs of the pulpit.

Lying and misleading as the pure and
simple and decoy newspapers are, the
great obstacle is to be found in our own
ranks. Ignorant of Socialist economies
the rank and file of Labor were easily
misled into binding themselves by awards
and vain appeals to Caesar in the way of
arbitration. They were told strikes are
barbarous, as if capitalism was ever any-
thing else, as witness its general behav-
iour in time of peace and its atavistic
traits in war.

Listening to such smug and false rea-
soning the Samson of Labor was shorn of
his locks and delivered into the hands of
his enemies. Of what use is it to parade
with pride the fact that in Australia there
are more unionists in proportion to popu-
lation than in any other country, when
they are divided into innumerable sec-
tions having no common ideal, provincial
in outlook and parochial in sentiment?

Their sage advisers who taught them
pacifist methods in their struggle for very
existence are now the most bloodthirsty
opponents of pacifism in dealing with
the European madness. We are losing

war has created a consciousness amongst
the workers, which must grow as the war
goes on, that will force them to realise
that their unconscious philanthropy of the
past was a state of imbecility; that
society as now constituted must go and
give place to a form of society under
which the workers will not produce for
an idle class of parasites, but will enter
into and be the inheritors of the know-
ledge and culture of the ages.

The Late Strike.

Its Lessons.

By F. Sutherland.

"public sympathy" say they. By "the
public" they mean the shopkeeping or
middle class and the farmers. I am not
aware we ever had their sympathy at any
time.

The moral of it all is—the working
class must rely upon themselves alone.
They must close up their ranks—jettison
their awards and arbitration fads, in a
word, clear their decks for action. But
with the advent of One Big Union the
struggle would assume a new phase.
Capital merged into trusts would delib-
erately antagonise the One Big Union,
who would call a general strike. As in
the Queensland general strike of 1912
those who could would store provisions
for a prolonged siege. Capitalists no long-
er competing with one another could af-
ford to wait for an indefinite period the
safety of themselves and their property
being assured by the armed forces of the
State.

Labor, living from hand to mouth,
would be starved into submission, but prob-
ably would get some concession to sweeten
their temper. It would then be seen
that the One Big Union using the general
strike as their chief weapon would fail to
overthrow capitalism as long as they (the
capitalists) had the armed forces of the
State behind them. It would also be
evident that the working class can
only "take and hold" the means of pro-
duction when they have first seized the
political machinery, including the armed
forces and then dispossessed the ruling
class.

Labor is
far more likely to starve themselves than
the capitalists by adopting the general
strike. No doubt strikes are unavoidable
under capitalism, but we must moderate
the claim as to their educational value.

In no country have strikes been so pro-
longed and severe as in England, and in
no country are the workers so devoid of
class consciousness. It must be borne
home and impressed upon the intellect
of the working class that not only strikes
and wars but their everyday troubles and
grievances, their bad housing accommo-
dation, their slavery in farm, mill and
mine is the inevitable result of capital-
ism. This intellectual revolution arising
from a proper understanding of their eco-
nomic condition must show them that no
reform on the political field or a six hours
day on the industrial field will secure
their emancipation. That can only be se-
cured by the overthrow of capitalism.

Once that impression is indelibly
stamped on the intellect of the workers
the ways and means will soon become evi-
dent. Without class consciousness One
Big Union may well be a reactionary in-
stead of a revolutionary force. But when
the day comes when the working man and
working woman will look upon press and
pulpit as agents of oppression and de-
ception, when they will cease going with
their children to capitalist pageants and
applauding silly ceremonies, then verily
the beginning of the end of class rule is
near at hand.

It is true necessity may compel the
overthrow of capitalism, but without a
revolution of ideas on the part of the
working class we will not secure com-
plete victory. Traces of misrule and crass
superstition will linger in our midst.

It is not enough to secure One Big
Union and to engage in the everyday
squabbles about wages and conditions, al-
though that is unavoidable. Every branch
of the union should possess a library of
Socialist and scientific works, and not
merely be a dues collecting agency, said
dues being largely absorbed by lawyers
and a horde of officials. The working
man must read the record of capitalism,
how that poison plant has absorbed and
thrived upon the blood and tears of
countless millions of laboring men and
women.

He must learn this from history, and
from the science of psychology he must
learn that domination of one class over
another leads to every conceivable evil.
In this way his intellect will be drawn
away from the vice of private ownership
of the means of life, and he will come to
a knowledge of the cardinal truth of eco-

Russia.

SOME INFORMATION.

(From the "Daily Standard," Brisbane).

EUROPEAN REVOLUTION NECESSARY.

CHELIABINSK, June 27, 1917.

(A fortnight ago, we published an interest-
ing letter on the Russian situation by an ex-
Queensland Russian, Theo Sergaef, written
from Vladivostok. His second letter has
just arrived, and should also be of wide in-
terest. His warning against cable-grams is
worth noting at this particular juncture.)

Now, Siberia is behind. I have very little
to say to correct what I said to you in my
last letter. The only change at present is
this: When the Coalition Government formed,
the public opinion was a riddle. Six semi-
Socialists who joined the coalition were prac-
tically a screen to hide the evil business of
the rest. At present the situation was cleared.
Congresses of Workmen's and Soldiers' dele-
gates, the congress of small landholders' (peasants) delegates, and the municipal elec-
tions gave an absolute majority to the semi-
Socialist block of Reform Socialists and agrar-
ian Reform Socialists. So now six of them
can do what they like against ten Conserva-
tives, even dismiss them. At present three
parties—Liberal (Conservatives), Block
(something like the Australian Labor Party,
but nearer to one-time supporters of the
Hughes type), and the so-called Socialists.
The latter are greatly misrepresented. They
include Radical Laborites and Socialists.

The policy pursued by the ruling coalition
of Liberals and semi-Socialists is one of mark-
ing time and doing nothing to organise the
country. They are too frightened to tackle
big problems, and so to interfere with the big
monopolists and speculators. They practi-
cally surrendered the British Imperialism. So
their policy is worse than even those of Den-
ham or Hughes.

The Radicals at present demand organisa-
tion of the necessary industries and control
by the government, with inspection over big
banking and trading establishment to stop
speculation, to save the country from the
coming famine, and complete disaster as the
result of the upheaval of the transport and
other industries. They also demand publica-
tion of all the secret treaties and direct un-
derstanding with British Labor bodies. They
also demand that the Allied Governments
should declare their war aims.

At present the whole country is one great
camp. Soldiers are everywhere. I was sur-
prised to see the most excellent type of sol-
diers. I thought Russia had exhausted the
supply of them a long time ago. They all
go to the front. They will give a good ac-
count of themselves, when necessary. But
what is the use of having 20 millions of sol-
diers when it is impossible to handle them?
Why not send 15 millions back to produce
what is necessary to keep five at the front.
Instead of the army having an armed people.
The average wages at present are much
higher than in Australia. Fifteen shillings
per day is looked upon as very miserable
wages; 20s and £2 per day are not uncom-
mon. Women receive very little less. But
what is the good of this when you can buy
nothing for your money: no bread, no meat,
no clothes, no boots, no houses. Industries
are very near ruined, as the necessary re-
pairs have been neglected for a long time.
And what is worst, the capitalists use sabot-
age systematically to starve the revolution
into submission, while the Government is like
a prisoner in their hands.

So Russia is still the country of the red
flag; everybody here calls himself red-hot
Socialist and Republican, but it is impossible
to be a prophet, and to say how the things
may turn in the near future.

I am sure of only one thing: only revolu-
tion in Europe can save the situation in Rus-
sia. By the way, don't believe all that silly
nonsense about anarchy in Russia. I see every-
thing so beautifully organised; it is only the
now elected Provisional Government inter-
ference with the rightly-elected public bodies
that is called anarchy.

Also, I have not met one man in favor of a
separate peace with the Kaiser. So when
you read your cablegrams or English papers,
remember they represent the people whose
business it is to misrepresent the situation
here. Certainly, masses of people want to
know why they are at war. They disguise
the very idea of being tools of an imperial-
ist crowd. They would direct understanding
with British democracy, not with the scound-
rels the see here at present.

THEO SERGAEFF.

omic science, that only by social owner-
ship can we secure community of inter-
ests, and that until our interests are iden-
tical we will have national and interna-
tional strife and struggle.

The March of the Workers.

What is this sound and rumour? What is this that all men hear,
Like the winds in hollow valleys when the storm is drawing near,
Like the rolling on of ocean at the eventide of fear?

'Tis the people marching on,
Whither go they, and whence come they?
What are these of whom ye tell?
In what country are they dwelling 'twixt the gates of heav'n and hell?
Are they mine or thine for money? Will they serve a master well?
Still the rumor's marching on.

Chorus.

Hark the rolling of the thunder!
Lo the sun! and lo thereunder
Riseth wrath and hope and wonder—
And the host comes marching on.

Forth they come from grief and torment; on they went toward health and mirth;
All the wide world is their dwelling, every corner of the earth;
Buy them, sell them for thy service! Try the bargain what 'tis worth,
For the days are marching on.

These are they who build thy houses, weave thy raiment, win thy wheat,
Smooth the rugged, fill the barren, turn the bitter into sweet,
All for thee this day, and ever what reward for them is meet,
Till the host comes marching on.

Chorus.

Hark the rolling of the thunder!
Lo the sun! and lo thereunder
Riseth wrath and hope and wonder—
And the host comes marching on.

Many a hundred years passed over have they laboured deaf and blind;
Never tidings reached their sorrow, never hope their toil might find,
Now at last they've heard and hear it, and the cry comes down the wind,
And their feet are marching on,
O ye rich men, hear and tremble! for with words the sound is rife;
"Once for you and death we laboured; changed henceforth is the strife.
We are men, and we shall battle for the world of men and life;
And our host is marching on."

Chorus.

Hark the rolling of the thunder!
Lo the sun! and lo thereunder
Riseth wrath and hope and wonder—
And the host comes marching on.

"Is it war, then? Will ye perish as the dry wood in the fire?
Is it peace? Then be ye of us, let your hope be our desire.
Come and live! for life awaketh, and the world shall never tire;
And hope is marching on.
On we march then, we the workers, and the rumor that ye hear
Is the blended sound of battle and deliverance drawing near;
For the hope of every creature is the banner that we bear,
And the world is marching on."

Chorus.

Hark the rolling of the thunder!
Lo the sun! and lo thereunder
Riseth wrath and hope and wonder—
And the host comes marching on.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

ESSAY COMPETITION.

We have decided to give two prizes for the best two essays on two set subjects. The prize winners will have the choice of a book from the list that will be submitted to them.

The two subjects will be published in the first issue of each month, and the M.S.S. must reach this office before the end of the month.

The essays are to consist of not more than one thousand words.

Write clearly in ink and leave plenty of room for editing.
Head essay with "Essay Competition," followed by the subject.

The essays will be judged: 1st, according to matter; 2nd, on general structure. We are endeavouring to find thinkers, not grammarians.

The subjects for this month are:—

- (1) POVERTY.
- (2) HOW ARE THE WORKING CLASS EXPLOITED?

Every new subscriber you get for "The International Socialist" is a blow struck at Capitalism.

A. S. P. NEWS AND NOTES.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE.

A NEW BRANCH FOR QUEENSLAND.

We have much pleasure in announcing that owing to the efforts of several comrades a new branch of the Party has been started in Ipswich, Queensland. With branches already in existence at Brisbane and Mt. Larcom, Queensland is the only State outside of New South Wales that can now boast of three branches.

Com. Peter Stalker has been elected Secretary, and all sympathisers in that locality are urged to get in touch with him, and help along the good work.

Arrangements are already being made for the purpose of holding meetings and lectures, and all supporters of the Party owe it to the movement, and particularly to themselves to roll up and do their bit.

Elsewhere in this issue will be found a report of the initial proceedings of the branch and we hope the aspirations of the Ipswich comrades will be fully realised. Don't forget, you supporters round Ipswich way. There's men's work to be done, and the recruiting agents for your district is—P. Stalker, City Boarding House, Brisbane St., Ipswich.

The next meeting of the C.E. will be held on Saturday, Oct. 13th., at 3 p.m. All delegates are requested to be present.

A. S. REARDON, Gen. Sec.

IPSWICH BRANCH. (QUEENSLAND).

Queensland's Hoy City is at last getting a move on. At the time of writing I have enrolled 19 members in this new branch, and have hopes of doubling it in the near future. We have several difficulties to overcome: a scattered district, with no suitable travelling conveniences, and a local council of troglodytes, whose mentality hasn't developed beyond the cave period.

We held a business meeting last Thursday (27th September) and waded through quite a plethora of items and suggestions. We start branch lectures and debates next week, and hope to hatch a few budding hot-air merchants as a consequence.

Another item down for future consideration is the formation of a Socialist Sunday School. That will eventuate whenever we acquire rooms on our own. So, you see we are getting quite a move on here for a start. Brisbane had best look to its laurels.

Yours for Emancipation,

PETER STALKER,
Branch Secretary.

MELBOURNE BRANCH.

Lectures for the last two Sundays have been the chief activities of this branch for the past fortnight.

Owing to the direct action tactics of a certain organisation, Yarra Bank meetings have been stopped for time being. On Sunday afternoon, September 30th, an attempt was made to organise a procession or one of those strolls that have worried the Lord Mayor of the City, the police, and a new bunch of "loyal" citizens, known as volunteer police, specially sworn in to help keep the peace in this industrially distracted city.

The upsetting of a boat and the drowning of two men in the Yarra, diverted the attention of the crowd from the attempted demonstration.

Comrade W. Harris, on Sunday, September 23rd, gave an interesting lecture on "The Launching of the I.W.W.," and its subsequent history. The speaker dwelt strongly on class solidarity, and said the master class will never stop any union of workers, as long as they preach political organisation.

A series of 33 articles, written by Mr. Frank Anstey, on finance and banking, with special reference to the note issue of the Commonwealth Bank, and other matters, has now been published in book form, under the appropriate title, "The Kingdom of Shylock."

A review of this book formed the subject of a lecture on September 30th, by Mr. P. Mulaney.

The subject may be, and is interesting to those who are students of international finance—but is of small interest to the wage slave, selling his labor power for a bare subsistence. It is something on a par with milliners and

dressmakers, who, after producing finery for the womenkind of the capitalist, go to a race meeting, and from the cheapest part of the ground endeavor to get a glimpse of all the well-dressed women who crowd the lawns and grandstand.

It is interesting to know that certain experts in book publishing thought the "Socialism" in "The Kingdom of Shylock" would not take on, and, indeed, might discount the sale of the book. Wage-slaves are accordingly warned!

J. M., Press Corr.

SYDNEY BRANCH.

On Sunday, 30th. Sept., Comrade C. Jackson gave an interesting lecture entitled, "The Organisation of the Workers."

He had a full house and the audience seemed well pleased with his address. Comrade Jackson of course, dealt with the W.I.L.U. as the only form of industrial organisations likely to benefit the workers, pointing out the futility of craft unions, and any other unions, which were not formed on class lines. An animated discussion followed the lecture, and paper sales were very good.

On 8th August, Mr. O. Blanc lectured on the "Coming Revolution;" he claimed that the revolution was inevitable and that contrary to his views of the scientific Marxian Socialist, physical force was necessary and desirable to accomplish it. In the discussion that followed, the socialist position was emphasised, and while not denying that any action that would obtain the working-class emancipation, might be used, nevertheless the position remains that while the capitalist class own and control the armed forces, all premature uprisings are simply like leading sheep to the slaughter.

We are attempting to organise two Sunday night meetings, as the warm weather comes on, the heat keeping many people from inside meetings. Paper sales continue to be excellent, although we hope to push sales still higher, before we are satisfied.

M. REARDON, Sec.

The Australian Socialist Party.

PRINCIPLES AND POLICY.

Objective.

The Social ownership and control of the means of production and distribution.

Statement of Principles.

The present form of Society rests on private ownership of the land and the machinery (tools) of production.

The owners of most of the land and machinery of production constitute what is economically known as the capitalist class. Hence the use of the term, "The capitalist form of society."

This form of ownership divides society in all countries into two distinct and opposing classes—the capitalist class and the working class.

The working class produces all the wealth of society, whilst it only receives sufficient to enable it to carry on production (i.e. a living wage). The rest of the wealth is appropriated by the capitalist class, and is known as surplus value.

Thus a conflict of interests is set up over the division of this wealth, each class striving to obtain possession of a greater portion. This conflict of interests begets a never-ceasing struggle known as the class war, some section or other of the working class being ever engaged in actual conflict.

Political Action and the State.

The struggle forces the workers to organise on the industrial field. But this organisation inevitably produces political consequences.

The State, that combination of legal, judicial and coercive forces, which is directed by parliament (the executive of the capitalist system), is the weapon with which the capitalist class defeats the workers on the industrial field. Finding themselves in conflict with the State, the workers are forced to find political expression for their economic organisations.

Inasmuch as industrial action produces its political reflex, the A.S.P. recognises the use of revolutionary political action on the above basis, as distinct from the palliative-mongering parliamentarism of non-revolutionary parties, to be essential to the complete overthrow of the capitalist system.

Political action then is only of value to the working-class, so far as it truly reflects its organised industrial power.

As to Unionism.

The A.S.P. aims and declares for Industrial Unionism as against craft or sectional unionism, for whereas the specialisation of the processes of production, the invention of machinery, and the concentration of ownership into fewer and fewer hands, makes craft unionism unable to cope with this economic development, and ever growing power of the emperors in the evolution of capitalist production, i.e., the organised labor expressions of lower forms of tools, the A.S.P. therefore declares that to-day this organisation has outlived its usefulness, and has created crafts and sections amongst the working class in the same industry, and this contradiction in industrial development allows one set of workers to be

pitted against another set in the same industry, and industry against industry, thereby defeating one another when waging war against the encroachments of the capitalist class, with their superior and higher developed organisations. And in view of this economic development the working class must organise in such a manner as will correspond to the development of the tools of production.

The A.S.P. therefore affirms that industrial unionism in contradistinction to craft unionism is that form of organisation which is based upon the recognition of the class struggle, and through which all its members in one industry or in all industries, if necessary, can act as a unit on the industrial field.

The A.S.P. therefore endorses the 1916 preamble of the W.I.L.U.

TO UNATTACHED SUPPORTERS.

Whoever you are, if you believe in Scientific Socialism, you must recognise the need for organisation. Why not set a good example to the workers whom you come in contact with, and whom we know you try to educate, by joining up with the A.S.P.

If there is no BRANCH in your locality, you can become a MEMBER AT LARGE, and thus become a REAL LIVE WIRE.

For further information, drop a line to the General Secretary, A.S.P., 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Any branch desiring matter published under the above heading, should write clearly what is needed, and forward same to this office.

BROKEN HILL.

Socialist Hall, Sulphide St.

All rebels making their way to the "Hill" will receive a welcome at the above address.

MELBOURNE BRANCH.

47 Victoria St., Melbourne.

Library and Reading Room for members.
Lectures held every Sunday Evening.

Economic Class every Wednesday evening.
Visitors welcomed.

MT. LARCOM.

Secretary, Chas. Jacobsen, Mt. Larcom, via Gladston.

NEWTOWN BRANCH.

Hall: Hatte's Arcade, King St., Newtown.

Library for Members.
Business meeting held alternate Thursday evening.

SYDNEY BRANCH.

Hall: 369 Pitt St., City.

Library for members.
Lecture every Sunday evening.
Debating class held every Monday evening.
Business meeting every alternate Thursday evening.

Dance every Friday evening.

AUSTRALASIAN SOCIALIST PARTY LITERATURE DEPARTMENT.

Ancient Society—Lewis H. Morgan; cloth. 6/-; posted, 6/3.

Britain for the British—R. Blatchford; paper cover, 6d.; posted, 7d.

Charles Darwin and Karl Marx—E. Aveling; paper, 3d.; posted, 4d.

Economic Discontent—Father T. J. Hagerty; paper, 2d.; posted, 3d.

Mutual Aid—P. Kropotkin; paper, 1/6; posted, 1/8.

New Socialism, The—R. R. La-Monte; paper, 6d.; posted, 7d.

Put up the Sword—Adela Pankhurst; paper, 2/6; posted, 2/9.

Positive School of Criminology—Enrico Ferri; cloth, 2/-; posted, 2/2.

Principles of Scientific Socialism—Rev. Vaie; paper, 1/-; posted, 1/1.

Right to be Lazy—P. Lafargue; paper, 6d.; posted, 7d.

Socialism the Goal of Civilisation—paper, 2d.; posted, 3d.

IMPORTANT.

When ordering literature it is well to add the cost of registration (3d.). This is necessary to guarantee delivery.

Printed and Published by William Josepa Thomas, at 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney, for the Australian Socialist Party.